

day. That is what the resolution I am introducing today would help to bring about. It has three main components:

The first, and main, part, Section 1, would require the House Committee on Rules each Congress to consider submitting to the House a congressional reform resolution. My proposal does not require that they report out and send such a resolution to the floor. It instead says that they should consider submitting such a resolution to the House, and—if they decide against such a resolution—they would have to explain—as part of their end-of-Congress report required in Section 3 below—why they thought congressional reform was not needed.

The biennial reform resolution proposed in Section 1 would draw upon two sources of information, among others:

Section 2 provides for a general floor debate on congressional reform during consideration of the legislative branch appropriations bill. Just as we set aside time for a Humphrey-Hawkins debate on the economy each session during consideration of the budget resolution, so we should set aside time for regular debate on how well Congress is working, allowing the main committee involved in congressional reform to take part in the discussion. The time of the year when we are funding Congress would be an appropriate time to discuss how well Congress is working.

Section 3 requires that the Committee on Rules, as part of its oversight agenda, submit a systematic and comprehensive report at the end of each Congress on the effectiveness of House organization, operations, and procedures. Earlier this year the House required each committee, including Rules, to submit an end-of-Congress report on its overnight activities. My resolution would require that a section of the Rules Committee report specifically take up the need for congressional reform—what was done on reform during that Congress and what might the areas of future reform.

Mr. Speaker, interest in congressional reform tends to ebb and flow according to the changing interests of the main House players in reform, the shifting national agenda, the varying amounts of media coverage given to the operations of Congress, and the changing winds of public interest in major reform. I believe we need to regularize the process so that whoever is in charge of reform in the future will be looking seriously at scheduling and debating a congressional reform resolution each Congress.

My idea is not a new one. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 stated the need for a congressional panel to "make a continuing study of the organization and operation of the Congress." Moreover, the 1974 bipartisan House Select Committee on Committees, headed up by Richard Bolling, stated: "A key aspect of any viable reorganization is provision for continuing evaluation of its effectiveness, and for periodic adjustments in the institution as new situations arise." I believe it is time to finally follow through on these recommendations and regularize the congressional reform process.

A TRIBUTE TO MELVIN AND JOSEPHINE CARLSON

HON. JOHN W. OLVER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 7, 1995

Mr. OLVER. Mr. Speaker, on June 9, 1945, Melvin and Josephine Carlson were married in the Holy Name Church in West Roxbury, MA.

That is 50 years, for those of you who may not be mathematically inclined. On the occasion of this monumental anniversary, I must take time out to pay tribute to their lives together.

Melvin and Joey met at Fort Devens Army Base in Ayer, MA. For Melvin, an illustrious military career was in the works. A World War II combat veteran of Guadalcanal and Bougainville fighting, he holds Legion of Merit, Purple Heart, and Combat Infantry Badge honors. He is also authorized to wear the Distinguished Unit badge.

Melvin worked for General Electric, and is recently retired from New England Confectionery Co. as director of research and development.

Josephine, a graduate of Regis College in Weston, MA, taught elementary students at St. Dominici's School in Brookline, MA. These days, it is reported that she spends some of her time gardening, reading, and making afghans for her grandchildren.

Speaking of children, Melvin and Josephine have three: Joseph Eric, Richard Melvin, and Elaine Marie, each of who coincidentally went to Boston College. Melvin and Joey have two grandchildren: Heather Ann and Eric Joseph Carlson.

I hear that, in addition to spending as much time as possible with their children and grandchildren, they are very active in their church, and they are loved by many good friends, both old and new.

Fifty years is quite an achievement. I hope my colleagues will join me in wishing Melvin and Josephine Carlson many more memorable years together. Congratulations and happy anniversary.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET—FISCAL YEAR 1996

SPEECH OF

HON. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 18, 1995

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 67) setting forth the congressional budget for the U.S. Government for the fiscal years 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, and 2002:

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong support of the Congressional Black Caucus substitute budget for fiscal year 1996. The CBC substitute is a caring budget, it shows compassion for the American people and is one that the American people can be proud of. It not only balances the budget, the measure is responsive to the housing, health, education, and employment training needs of the American people.

Unlike the Republicans' budget proposals, House Concurrent Resolution 67, which holds our elderly hostage to their compromised health care condition and economic status, the Congressional Black Caucus substitute treats our elderly with the dignity and respect that they not only deserve—but have earned. Adequate funding is provided for the older Americans' programs, including essential nutrition programs, low-income home-energy assistance, and assisted housing. Medicare is preserved.

The lives of more 2,000,000 Medicare seniors in Texas would be dramatically impacted, and by the year 2002 each Medicare senior in Texas would be asked to pay an additional \$1,112 out-of-pocket expenses. Each would be forced to pay \$4,000 more for fiscal years 1996 through 2002 to make up for the cuts. We want the future to be free but not on the backs of seniors and those most vulnerable. Unlike the Republicans' budget proposal which forces our elderly to choose between food and heat, under the CBC alternative their quality of life is enhanced.

The CBC substitute is also kind to our Nation's children, including those yet to be born. It provides adequate funding for Healthy Start, Child Care, and Head Start. Our children are our future. They have placed their future in our hands, we cannot sacrifice the trust.

In addition, the CBC substitute budget strengthens support for higher education, student aid, TRIO, education for the disadvantaged, school reform, biomedical research, and community infrastructure. The CBC has heard the voice of the American people, and responded with a sound budget that is fair, responsible, and overturns the Republicans' assault on our Nation's most vulnerable citizens—the children, the elderly, the Veterans, and hard-working families.

The Congressional Black Caucus substitute budget stands on its own merits. We know we must maintain a strong national defense—but we also know we must establish our fiscal policy and priorities in a responsible and compassionate manner.

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN HAS REASON TO BE ANGRY

HON. BERNARD SANDERS

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 7, 1995

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following article for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

(From the Christian Science Monitor, June 1, 1995)

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN HAS REASON TO BE ANGRY—LOW PAY, LONG HOURS, AND A WIDENING GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR

(By Bernard Sanders)

It has recently been widely reported that the average American is angry. Well, the average American should be angry.

Since 1973, the working people of this country have worked longer hours, earned less, and lost much of the economic security they previously had. During the last 22 years, 80 percent of American families have experienced falling or stagnant real incomes. Meanwhile, average Americans are experiencing a major drop in their standard of living, while the rich and powerful have never had it so good.

New statistical studies show that the wealthiest 1 percent of the population own nearly 40 percent of the wealth of this country, more than the bottom 90 percent. That is the greatest concentration of wealth in the industrialized world and, most significantly, it is a trend accelerating faster here than anywhere else.

In 1959, the richest 4 percent of American families earned as much income as the bottom 35 percent. By 1989, that top 4 percent earned as much as the bottom 51 percent. In 1980, the average pay for a chief executive officer of a major corporation was 42 times as high as that of a factory worker. Today, the CEO earns 149 times as much.

Meanwhile, while profits soar and CEOs reap huge salary increases, the purchasing power of the minimum wage has declined by 26 percent over the last 20 years. Many of the new jobs being created are low-wage, part-time, or temporary, without benefits. As major corporations continue to "downsize," the number of temporary jobs in America has exploded from 962,300 in 1987 to 1,657,700 in 1993.

Tens of millions of American workers are experiencing extraordinary financial insecurity and pressure. Will they have their jobs tomorrow, or is the owner moving the company to China where he can get workers for 20 cents an hour? Will their limited healthcare benefits be cut even further? Will they ever collect on the pension plan they've been promised?

From 1988 to 1993, worker productivity in the private sector increased by 5.9 percent. Average hourly earnings, however, declined by 4 percent. By 1993, the typical family had lost \$1,400 of the buying power it had in 1991. People are working longer, harder, and more productively—and they're becoming poorer. Should the average American be angry?

Given the crisis facing the American middle class, what has the new Republican-controlled Congress been doing to address our nation's underlying economic problems?

JOB

There is nothing in the "Contract With America" to address our \$160 billion trade deficit, the decline of our manufacturing base, and the loss of millions of decent-paying manufacturing jobs. How do we get corporate America to reinvest in this country, rather than in cheap, unprotected labor abroad? This is apparently not a subject of much interest to the Republicans, who have recently received huge amounts of corporate campaign contributions.

DECLINING LIVING STANDARDS

At a time when the rich are getting richer and the middle class and the poor are getting poorer, the Republicans have adopted a series of bills to cut benefits drastically for working people and the poor-making life more difficult for those already hurting the most. The Republicans are proposing major cuts in child nutrition, fuel assistance, education, affordable housing, Medicare, Medicaid, and college financial aid.

TAX CUTS

Fifty percent of the individual tax breaks passed by the Republican House will go to people making a \$100,000 a year, and the upper 1 percent will get more in tax breaks than the bottom 60 percent. For the lower middle class, there will be virtually no tax reductions at all.

Should the average American worker be angry?

If we are to turn this country around and create an economy that provides well for all the people, and not just the rich, we must focus on the real causes of our problems—and demand real solutions.

Most importantly, we must have the courage to take on the big money interests who—

through their control of the economy, the political parties, and the media—make most of the decisions that affect our lives now and those of our children, too.

THE GOLDEN TEMPLE MASSACRE: SELF DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE FOR KHALISTAN

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 7, 1995

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the terrible conditions that the people of Khalistan must endure on a daily basis. June 3–6 marks the 11th anniversary of the Golden Temple Massacre, where the Indian army massacred thousands of Sikhs. The situation has not improved, and the Indian police routinely use torture, murder, and rape to oppress the Sikh people. This religious intolerance and ethnic warfare amounts to genocide and must stop.

We need only look at the former Soviet Union to understand why a society based on ethnic repression cannot work. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the republics were finally able to break free and exist in peaceful democratic states. It has been predicted that India will suffer the same fate and it is our duty to support and encourage the people of the Sikh Nation. The following remarks by Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh should be read to fully understand the importance of the situation.

COUNCIL OF KHALISTAN,

Washington, DC, June 3, 1995.

Remarks of Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, President, Council of Khalistan, on the Eleventh Anniversary of the Golden Temple Massacre, at Washington, DC.

I am glad to see so many people here today. As you know, the Sikh Nation celebrated its 296th birthday this past Vaisakhi Day. That was a joyous occasion; today is a sad one. We all know about the oppression the Sikh Nation has suffered under India's tyrannical occupation of our homeland, Khalistan. At least 120,000 Sikhs have been murdered in India since 1984. Tens of thousands of Sikhs remain in prison. In many rural areas, where the killings are most frequent, whole villages are emptied of their most able bodied young men.

The bloody massacre we commemorate today helped to clarify for the Sikh Nation its true place in Hindustan's sham "democracy." The oppression and bloodshed inflicted on the Sikh Nation by the brutal Indian tyrants make it crystal clear that there is no place for Sikhs in India. For ourselves and for our children, we must liberate Khalistan. Only a free and independent Khalistan will insure that the Sikh Nation can live in peace, prosperity, and freedom.

Freedom for Khalistan is coming soon. It is inevitable. Dr. Jack Wheeler of the Freedom Research Foundation, who predicted the Soviet collapse, predicted almost a year ago that within ten years, India will cease to exist as we know it.

When Sikhs read about India's recent destruction of one of Kashmir's most sacred mosques, we felt a familiar pain remembering how we felt when thousands of our Sikh brethren were slaughtered in the Golden Temple massacre.

In the country that bills itself as "the world's largest democracy," military forces are being used to attack the faith, identity, and even the very being of the Sikh nation. But instead of breaking the Sikh nation, as

the tyrants of Hindustan had hoped, it has led to a resurgence of the Sikh faith in our struggle for dignity and freedom. The Golden Temple massacre crystallized a desire in the Sikh nation for a free and sovereign Khalistan.

As you all know, today marks the anniversary of that act of wanton desecration. From June 3 through 6, 1984, 15,000 troops of the Indian army launched a surprise military attack on the Golden Temple in Amritsar, the holiest shrine of the Sikh people. Simultaneously, they attacked 38 other Sikh temples throughout Punjab, Khalistan. These attacks, timed on a holy day for the Sikh nation, left 20,000 Sikhs dead. Many innocent, unarmed men, women and children, who had come only to pray on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev Ji, were gunned down in the very temples in which they sought peace and solace.

The operation took 72 hours to complete. A news blackout in Punjab was initiated immediately before the attack. In the Temple complex itself, hundreds of Sikhs were forced into rooms designed to hold no more than 20 or 30 people. Most died of asphyxiation. Many Sikh women were raped before being killed.

In one episode, one hundred Sikh boys, students at the temple who were between 8 and 12 years old, were lined up along the sacred pool that surrounds the Temple. The Indian army officers asked each boy, one by one, if he supported Khalistan. One by one, each boy would cry out *Bulleh So Nihal!* ("Everyone cry out and be contented!"), and the rest would respond *Sat Sri Akal* ("God is Truth!"). One by one, each boy was shot in the head. Yet the Indian regime claimed that "Not a single woman or child was wounded in the operation proper at the hands of the Army personnel."

Other Sikhs were herded together, their turbans were removed and used to tie their hands behind their backs. They were blindfolded and their unshorn beards were stuffed into their mouths. They were then killed by machine gun fire. Bodies were piled together and shipped to nearby Gobindgarh fort, where they were drenched in kerosene and burned. The stench of smoldering bodies permeated in the area for two weeks. Sant Bhindranwale and 20,000 other Sikhs lost their lives.

The damage to the Temple complex was extensive. We cannot forget how the Akal Takht, the throne of timeless God, was severely damaged and the Temple's library building was destroyed. Priceless original manuscripts written by the Gurus were burnt. The Golden Temple itself was riddled with bullet holes, many precious stones inlaid upon its walls removed by Army personnel.

In the mopping up operations, the Indian forces planted sophisticated weapons inside the Golden Temple in an effort to legitimize the action. The Golden Temple was utterly desecrated. In the 400-year history of the Golden Temple, no ruler had done the kind of damage the Indian Government meted out in the 72-hour massacre. The Guru Granth Sahib, the holy book of the Sikh religion, had bullet holes in it. This is Indian religious tolerance.

Eleven years later, we remember. The Sikh nation can never forget the brutal massacre and desecration that took place during those dark days. We cannot forget, and the memory reminds us that we must take back our homeland from the tyrannical Indian regime. We must liberate Khalistan from the grip of oppression, and we should do so very soon. It is our destiny. *Raj Karega Khalsa!* Khalistan will be free.

Eleven years later, the killing has not stopped. Virtual martial law and press blackouts have been in place almost continuously